/375 cont./
369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511 276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] [602] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541 cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204 There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
●423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
[427 other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

[554 Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472 portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494 Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454 bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shanty-town, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 369 ● 423 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it [166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/157 cont./

175 369 [423] urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today [435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are [426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask 162 433 whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

● 423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3¼ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in